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ABSTRACT

The properties of presupposition were investigated in Japanese and English. The investigation examined how the presupposition is preserved under different syntactic structures, and identified presupposition in terms of the transitivity of factive verbs. Japanese was seen as more clearly manifesting "presuppositionability" than English in terms of regularity of the case marking. It was also noticed that presupposition exists in the relationships between the matrix verbs and the case-makers in the case of the Japanese embedded sentence. (GLR)

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Presupposition in Japanese

Masatoshi Tabuki

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The object of this paper is to investigate the properties of presupposition in Japanese as well as in English. It turned out that the Japanese case marking clearly manifests the "presuppositionability" of the embedded complement. How the presupposition is preserved under different syntactic structures is my present concern. Finally I try to identify the presupposition in terms of the transitivity of factive verbs.

1. Introduction

As the preliminary to the discussion to follow, let us look at the following examples;

(1) a. It is regrettable that it is raining. **factive verb**

b. It is odd that he was killed. **factive verb**

c. It is tragic that he was killed. **factive verb**

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d. It is true that he was killed. **non-factive verb**

e. It seems that he was killed. **non-factive verb**

f. It is possible that he was kil. **non-factive verb**

According to Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970), factive verbs semantically presuppose their complements. They present several tests to characterize the factive predicate and the non-factive predicate. The most reliable test would be negative insertion; If negation does not affect the presupposition, that complement is semantically presupposed as in "It is not regrettable that it is raining." We see the predicate is still entailed even under negation, but it is not the case with sentence (2) as in "It is not true that he was killed."

What I am most interested in here is (i) what the factive verb and the non-factive verb are, (ii) what properties the factive verb has and (iii) why the complement is presupposed with the factive verb employed.

Let us look at the following examples. Note that all the factive and non-factive verbs are adverbified;

(2) a. Regrettably (1) it is (2) raining (3). **factive verb**

b. Oddly (1) it is (2) raining (3). =

c. Tragically (1) he was (2) killed (3). =

d. Truly (1) it is (2) raining (3). **non-factive verb**

e. Seemingly (1) he was (2) killed (3). =

f. Possibly (1) he was (2) killed (3). =

We observe that three positions would be possible for the adverbified factive verbs to be moved in; (1) the initial position (2) the middle position and (3) the final position. On the other hand, the adverbified non-factive verbs can be only moved to the middle position in terms of 'naturalness' of the sentence. Note the difference of each couple in the following sentences.

(3) a. Oddly the door is locked.

b. The door is oddly locked.

(4) a. Tragically he was killed.

b. He was tragically killed.

In sentence (3a) and (4a), the adverb oddly modifies the whole sentence, while in sentence (3b) and (4b), part of the sentence is modified.i.e., in (3b) 'how the door is locked' is described by oddly and in (4b) 'how he was killed' is described by tragically. We observe the different boundary of modification depending on the position of the adverbs in the adverbified fac-

tive verbs. In short, presupposition is not blocked by the position of adverbified factive verbals, while the adverbs which do not presuppose the complement are narrowly positioned in the middle of the sentence. The factive verb 'regret' has three more derivations as the following;

(5) a. I regret that it is raining.
b. It is regrettable that it is raining.
c. Regrettably, it is raining.
d. It is a matter of regret that he was killed.

All the sentences in (5) are presupposed even when the verb 'regret' changes to (5b) an adjective (5c) an adverb and (5d) a noun. Here, we can say that presupposition is constant under the derivations of a factive verb.

2. Presupposition in Japanese

In Japanese, case marking of theme, subject and object NPs involves the topical postposition **wa** as well as the nominative **ga** and accusative **o**.

(6) a. Watashi wa [kare (wa/ga) ikiteiru] to omou.

I topic he topic nom alive Comp believe

'I believe that he is alive.'

b. Kare wa ikiteiru yooda.

he top alive seeming

'It seems that he is a live.'

c. Kare wa tashikani ikiteiru.

he top surely alive

'It is sure that he is alive.'

d. Kare wa ikiteiru kanousei ga aru.

he top alive possibility nom is

'It is possible that he is a live.'

e. Watashi wa [kare (wa/ga) ikiteiru] to ketsuron shita.

I top he top nom alive Comp concluded

'I concluded that he is alive.'

f. Watashi wa [kare (wa/ga) ikiteiru] to shuchoo suru.

I top he top nom alive Comp claim

'I claim that he is alive.'

g. Watashi wa [kare ga ikiteiru] no o zannen garu.

I top he nom alive Comp acc regret

'I regret that he is alive.'

h. [Kare ga korosa re ta] no (wa/ga) higeki da.
he nom be killed Comp top nom tragic
'It is tragic that he was killed.'

i. [Doa ga shimatte iru] no (wa/ga) kimyoo da.
door nom locked Comp top nom odd
'It is odd that the door is locked.'

j. Watashi wa [kare (wa/ga) kanemochi na] no o koryo ni ireta.
I top he top nom rich Comp acc considered ' I took it into consideration that he is rich.'

*(wa/ga) indicates that either of them is optionally chosen and [ ] means the embedded part of the sentence.

We observe the systematic derivations of the case markers; **ga** as the nominative, **wa** as the topic, **o** as the accusative and **to** as a complementizer (or a quotation marker). Note that in sentence (6a) (6e) and (6f) with non-factive verbs the embedded sentences are case-marked by Comp **to** and that in sentence (6b) and (6c) the non-factive verbals change to the adverbs and that in sentence (6d) the non-factive verb is nominalized as in 'There is a possibility that he is alive.' On the other hand, in sentence (6g) (6h) (6i) and (6j) all the embedded sentences are

first nominalized by Comp **to** and then case-marked by topic **wa** or nominative **ga** or accusative **o**. In sentence (6e) 'I concluded that he is alive.' can be glossed as 'I concluded **as** that he is alive.' in Japanese if we dare to translate Comp **to**. According to a Japanese dictionary, **to** is described as the following; '**to** is used when we cannot totally approve the thing which can be expected, admitting it as a fact temporarily'.

We conclude that Japanese can more clearly manifests the 'presuppositionability' than English in terms of regularlity of the case marking. The problem arising here is why Japanese has regular derivations of the case markers depending on the factive and the non-factive complement. I believe this regularity of derivations can be explained in terms of 'transitivity' of verbs, which will be discussed later in this paper.

Now, let us look at the Japanese case markers of nominative **ga** and topical **wa** in relation with the factive and non-factive complement.

non-factive verb

(7)

Watashi (wa/ga) [kare (wa/ga/o) ikiteiru] to ketsuron suru.
I top nom he top nom acc alive Comp conclude
'I conclude that he is alive.'

factive verb

(8)

Watashi (wa/ga) [kare (*wa/ga/*o) ikiteiru] no o zannen garu.
I top nom he top nom acc alive Comp acc regret
'I regret that he is alive.'

Sentence (7) can be simplified as **NP1 - (wa/ga)NP2 - (wa/ga/o)VP2 VP1**, while sentence (8) as **NP1 - (wa/ga)NP2 - ga VP2 VP1.** Note that only **ga** is allowed in NP2 of sentence (8). Sugamoto (1982) discusses that in old Japanese **ga** was a linking postposition of NPs and that nominals thus linked may have various semantic relationships - possession, location, etc. The use of **ga** as a linking postposition remains in Modern Japanese in proper names and fossilized forms, as in (9).

(9) a. wa ga ya
I of house
'the house of mine'

b. wa ga mama
I of way
'my own way, selfish'

c. Kiri ga Mine

mist of peak

'The Peak of Mist' (quoted from Sugamoto (1982:441))

kare ga ikiteiru no o in sentence (8) can be explained along with Sugamoto's observation. **kare** 'he' is an NP and **ikiteiru no** 'alive + nom' is a nominalized adjective. We can say that **NP1 + ga + NP2** of the fossilized old Japanese is preserved in the embedded complement of the factive verb, while in the embedded complement of the non-factive verb case-marker **wa, ga,** or **o** is optionally taken. Why **ga** is obligatorily picked out in the embedded complement of the factive verb and **ga, wa** or **o** is optionally chosen is the question we must consider.

Kuroda (1979:46) claims that the English subject of a predication is translated in Japanese with a **wa** phrase while the subject of a non-predicational description appears as a **ga** phrase. As it is not our present concern to discuss about the topical **wa** and non-topical **ga** from Kuroda's perspective, it suffices to say that a theme NP and a subject NP are alike as to their case-markers; they both take either **ga** or **wa**. We are more concerned with **ga** which is narrowly used in the embedded complement of the factive verb in the light of presupposition.

(10) [Kare ga kuru] no (wa/ga) kimyoo da.

he nom come Comp top nom odd

'It is odd that he comes.'

As we observed before, the bracketed portion of sentence (10) is embedded and presupposed.

(11) Kare wa kuru no (wa/ga) kimyoo da.

he topic come Comp top nom odd

'As for him, if he comes, it is odd.'

Note that the presupposed complement in sentence (11) is destroyed when **ga** of the embedded clause in (10) switches with **wa** in (11). Thus the presupposition of 'he comes' has disappeared in sentence (11).

(12) [Kare ga kuru daroo] to wa kimyoo da.

he nom come will Comp top odd

'It is odd that he will come.'

If **daroo**'will, perhaps' is inserted into sentence (12), **no (wa/ga)** is disengaged and **to wa** is employed, and the presupposition has disappeared as sentence (12) indicates. As I stated

earlier, **no** functions to nominalized the embedded complement and seems like the English complementizer 'that' and **to** indicates the quotation marker and also seems like English 'that'.

We have observed so far that Comp **no** and **to** is an indicator as to whether the embedded complement is presupposed or not. In short, presupposition prefers that it is preserved in the nominalized form, and it blocks the insertion of other elements within its boundary, the case-markers responding to them, and the presupposition disappears.

Now we have to discuss the case-marker **ga, wa** and **o** optionally chosen with the embedded complement of non-factive verbs as in sentence (7). Sugamoto (1982:436) discusses this problem in the light of subject-to-object raising.
Sugamoto describes as the following;

'One may take **shita** 'did' as a subject-to-object-raising verb because of its uses in sentences like;

Isha wa Taroo (ga/wa) o byoki da to shita.
doctor top nom acc sick be Comp considered
(1) (2)

(1) 'The doctor considered that Taroo was sick.'
(2) 'The doctor considered Taroo to be sick.'

If we think about sentence (7) along this line, the sentence (a) 'I concluded that he is alive.' can be transformed (b) '*I concluded him to be alive.' after the subject-to-object raising rule is applied. However, sentence (b) would not be allowed syntactically, but semantically possible. Next observe the following sentence;

(13) Watashi (wa/ga) [kare ga konai] no (wa/ga/*o) wakaru.
I top nom he nom come not Comp top/nom/acc understand

According to our previous observation, the embedded complement of the factive verb is supposed to take **o** as the accusative case-marker. However, this embedded complement is allowed to take **wa** or **ga** (not **o**) as the case-marker. Sugamoto (1982:436) discusses as the following;

'**wakaru** is usually translated into English as a transitive "understand", but it is originally an intransitive verb meaning literally "become separate, individuated" and takes a nominative object **ga**. However, when **wakaru** takes the verbal auxiliary, **(y)oo**, of intent, the acceptability of case marking for NPs

reverses as the following'

(a) Watashi wa anata no kimochi (ga/*o) wakaru.
I top you of feeling nom/acc understand
'I understand your feeling.'
(b) Watashi wa anata no kimochi (*ga/o) wakar-oo.

Sugamoto (1982:436)

We have observed that either **wa** or **ga**, or **o** in the embedded complement is automatically picked out depending on the transitivity of the matrix verb and that the presupposition exists in the relationships between the matrix verb and the case-marker. Now, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the transitivity of the matrix verb determines the 'presuppositionability' of the embedded complement.

Kuno (1973) claims that NP-**o** indicates that the notion designated by the verb takes place converting the entire dimension of NP continuously and indirectly. He gives the following examples;

a. michi **de** aruku
street on walk
'walk on the street' (probably back and forth and across)

b. michi o aruku

street acc walk

'walk (along) the street'

Kuno's description gives us evidence that the embedded complement which picks out the accusative o has the matrix verb which has high transitivity. The next step which we have to take is to look at the transitivity of the factive and the non-factive verbs.

According to Hopper and Thompson (1980), the parameters of transitivity are composed of ten items; A (+ & - participants) B (+ & - aspect) C (+ & - punctuality) D (+ & - volitionality) E (+ & - affirmation) F (+ & - mode) G (+ & - agency) H (+ & - affectedness of o) I (+ & - individuation of o) and J (+ & - kinesis). I will not discuss the details of transitivity here. All we have to focus would be column H (affectedness of o). We can assume the presuppositionability of the embedded complement is strongly connected with the transitivity of the matrix verb with reference to Hopper and Thompson's (1980) parameters.

We have observed the presupposition mostly from the aspect of syntax with the help of the Japanese case-markers. We have noticed that the presupposition exists in the relationships between the matrix verbs and the case-markers in the case of

Japanese embedded sentence.

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